

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LAGOS 08042 291725Z
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00
ICAE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 ACDA-12 /090 W
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FM AMEMB WESY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 9210
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK NIACT IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 8042

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, PDEV, SF, WA
SUBJECT: NIGERIAN IMPRESSIONS OF SWAPO'S POSITION

REF: DAR ES SALAAM 2501

1. SUMMARY. DR. FAFOWARA, DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF MEA'S
AFRICA DEPARTMENT AND THE NIGERIAN LIAISON OFFICER WITH
SWAPO, TOLD CHARGE JUNE 29 THAT SWAPO IS INTERESTED IN
RESUMING TALKS WITH THE CONTACT GROUP AND WOULD PROBABLY
ACCEPT THE CONTACT GROUP PROPOSAL IF CONVINCED THAT FARI
ELECTIONS WOULD ACTUALLY BE HELD. IT IS HIS IMPRESSION,
HOWEVER, THAT THE SECOND MAJOR STICKING POINT FOR SWAPO
AT THE PRESENT TIME (BEYOND WALVIS BAY) IS THE AUTHORITY
OF THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL, RATHER THAN THE LOCATION
OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD.
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PAGE 02 LAGOS 08042 291725Z

END SUMMARY

2. FAFOWARA HAD TALKED WITH SWAPO OFFICIALS IN
LUSAKA DURING THE WEEK OF JUNE 5 AND HAD ALSO BEEN
IN LUANDA AT THE TIME OF THE FRONTLINE SUMMIT
(JUNE 10-11). HE TOLD CHARGE THAT SWAPO'S VICE
PRESIDENT AND OTHER SWAPO OFFICIALS IN LUSAKA HAD

STILL BEEN INCENSED OVER THE CASSINGA RAID AT THAT TIME AND HAD TAKEN A VERY TOUGH ATTITUDE TOWARDS FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS. SOME OF THEM WANTED TO WITHDRAW FROM THE NEGOTIATIONS. WHEN FAFOWARA WENT ON TO LUANDA, SWAPO OFFICIALS THERE HAD TAKEN HIM TO SEE SOME OF THE PEOPLE INJURED IN THE CASSINGA RAID. THEY TOLD HSRUTBROKMER A THOUSAND PEOPLE HAD BEEN KILLED AND A GREAT DEAL OF EQUIPMENT DESTROYED. NEVERTHELESS FAFOWARA FOUND THAT NUJOMA AND OTHER SWAPO OFFICIALS THERE WERE MORE CONCILIATORY THAN THE SWAPO GROUP IN LUSAKA. FAFOWARA SAID THAT HE HAD EMPHASIZED TO THEM THE FMG'S VIEW THAT IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO PURSUE THE NEGOTIATED SOLUTION OPTION IN ADDITION TO THEIR MILITARY ACTIVITIES, AND THAT THEY HAD FULLY AGREED.

3. WHEN THE CHARGE INQUIRED WHAT POINTS IN THE CONTACT GROUP PROPOSAL STILL GAVE SWAPO SERIOUS TROUBLE, HE RESPONDED THAT ONE WAS WALVIS BAY AND THE SECOND WAS THE EXCESSIVE AUTHORITY OF THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL IN RELATION TO THE RATHER VAGUELY DEFINED AUTHORITY OF THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE. WHEN THE CHARGE POINTED OUT LATER IN THE CONVERSATION THAT NYERERE HAD CITED THE LOCATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS DURING THE TRANSITION PELC AAUEA SECOND STICKING POINT, FAFOWARA SEEMD SURPRISED AND SAID THAT HAD NOT BEEN CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LAGOS 08042 291725Z

HIS IMPRESSION.

4. FAFOWARA SAID THAT SWAPO WAS CLEARLY QUITE READY TO RESUME TALKS WITH THE CONTACT GROUP. HE ALSO MENTIONED THAT THERE WAS GREAT CONCERN IN SWAPO THAT THE SAG MIGHT RENEGE AITS COMMITMENTS, AFTER BOTH SIDES HAD ACCEPTED THE CONTACT GROUP PROPOSAL, AND TAKE STEPS WHICH WOULD MAKE FAIR ELECTIONS IMPOSSIBLE. FAFOWARA SAID HE WAS CONVINCED THAT SWAPO WOULD ACCEPT THE CONTACT GROUP PROPOSAL AS IT STANDS IF IT WERE REALLY CONVINVKPHKHA THE ELECTION WOULD BE FAIRLY CONDUCTED. HE SAID SWAPO ISEUNFIDENT IT WOULD WIN IN SUCH ELECTIONS.

5. FAFOWARA ALSO COMMENTED THAT NUJOMA WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY BE OUSTED FROM THE LEADERSHIP OF SWAPO IF SWAPO ACCEPTED THE CONTACT GROUP PROPOSAL AND THE SAG LATER RENEGED ON ITS UNDERTAKINGS UNDER THAT PROPOSAL. IN HIS OPINION NUJOMA'S LEADERSHIP POSITION IS BY NO MEANS AS SOLIDLY ESTABLISHED AS HAD BEEN THOSE OF MACHEL AND NETO PRIOR TO THE INDEPENDENCE OF MOZAMBIQUE AND NAMIBIA. FAFOWARA SEES NUJOMA AS ONE OF THE MOST MODERATE SWAPO LEADERS AND CONTENTS THAT HE IS NOT A

MARXIST.

6. THE CHARGE TOLD FAFOWARA THAT THE WESTERN FIVE HAD DECIDED AFTER RECEIVING NYERERE'S REPORT OF THE LUANDA SUMMIT TO CONDUCT FURTHER DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SAG BEFORE PROPOSING A RESUMPTION OF CONTACT GROUP TALKS WITH SWAPO.

7. COMMENT: NUJOMA AND THE OTHER SWAPO LEADERS IN LUANDA HAVE APPARENTLY SUCCEEDED IN CONVINCING FAFOWARA (AND, THROUGH HIM, PROBABLY THE FMG) THAT THEY ARE STILL PREPARED TO BE REASONABLE AND MODERATE IN FURTHER DISCUSSIONS OF THE CONTACT GROUP PROPOSAL. THE SWAPO LEADERS MAYHVE SOMEWHAT EXAGGERATED THEIR
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PAGE 04 LAGOS 08042 291725Z

CONCILIATORY ATTITUDE BECAUSE OF NIGERIAN URGINGS THAT THEY GO THE LAST MILE TO FACILITATE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. IN ANY EVENT, IT IS CERTAINLY NOTEWORTHY AND RATHER PUZZLING THAT FAFOWARA UNDERSTOOD THE AUTHORITY OF THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL RATHER THAN THE QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS TO BE THE SECOND STICKING POINT FOR SWAPO. WE NOTE FROM REFTEL, HOWEVER, THAT NYERERE HAD CONVEYED THE IMPRESSION IN HIS REPORT TO THE WESTERN FIVE AMBASSADORS THAT IF WAS ANGOLA AND ZAMBIA WHO WERE THE ONES INSISTING ON RELOCATING SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS.
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